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to the changes which are going on in Mexico a special, and at the same time a characteristic, form.

## III

The change which is obviously going on in Mexico can be described, it may be, in terms more fundamental than "the spread of education" or "economic development," although these are of course important aspects of that change. To the social anthropologist the change is that which is represented by the gain of popular literature at the expense of folk literature. It is a change in type of culture. It may furthermore be provisionally assumed that this change has elements in common with others which are taking place in countries similarly placed with respect to the widening influence of modern Western industrial civilization. Mexico is but one of the peoples on that frontier of contact. Modern industrial civilization appears, offhand, to reach these marginal peoples as a sort of complex; those peoples that survive tend to react, it would seem, in ways different yet often comparable. Perhaps tractors, newspapers, linguistic revivals, technical manuals of craftsmanship, and a strong emotional attitude toward foreigners, compounded at once of admiration and contempt, represent recurrent elements in a describable process.

There is a growing disposition on the part of cultural anthropologists to study social processes as such, rather than to rest content with the mere description of cultures or the solution of specific historical sequences.

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl.* The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl.* So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta.* Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

*Cuatequitl* is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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the contribution is paid. Like the *chirimiteros*, the *huehuechiques* are called upon only for *fiestas* of *santos*.

Two fireworks-makers [*coheteros*]: These men prepare the *castillos* for the *fiestas* of the *santos*, and make rockets [*cohetes*] which are used for any celebration.

Three maskmakers:[1] These men are brothers. The duty of making masks has always been in their family. Before the carnival these three men devote most of their time to making the traditional masks.

Two magicians [*magicos*]:[2] The existence of these specialists was learned shortly before leaving Tepoztlán; nothing is known about them except the identity of the two individuals. "They say they know how to take a woman out of her house against her will."

These two classes of specialists appear to represent two different types of social organization, and the changing relations between them describe the social evolution of Tepoztlán. Occupations of the first class are invariably carried on in order to earn a livelihood. Those of the second class are to a less extent carried on for remuneration. The *chirimitero*, the *huehuechique*, the maskmaker, even the midwife and the herb-doctor, perform their functions because theirs are rôles which the group is accustomed to see them take. The specialists of the first class in many instances acquire their specialties adventitiously. In many cases the storekeeper, the mason, or the carpenter has

[1] These men happen to be *correctos*.

[2] The *magicos* are quite distinct from witches (*brujas*). The reputation of witches is acquired unwittingly and is not enjoyed. Theirs is not a profession.

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178 463 learned his trade in Mexico City. Here he has entered into the freer economic competition that characterizes the city, and his abilities have enabled him to survive by means of a trade or profession which he is fitted to carry on. The herb-doctor, the *chirimitero*, the mask-maker, and the others of this group have, it would seem, more often inherited their professions, come into them almost inevitably. This is clear for the *chirimiteros*, *huehuechihque*, and maskmakers; information is lacking as to the herb-doctors and midwives. The techniques employed by the specialists of the first class are those of modern European civilization. Those of the second class are, for the most part, ancient heritages of the Indian culture. The art of the [177] fireworks-maker is a European technique, it is true, but it is one early acquired and incorporated into the folk culture. Information from other Mexican villages[1] suggests that, like other specialties in the second group, it tends to become a mystery, a guarded art transmitted reluctantly to only certain individuals.

In almost every case it is lamented, by *los tontos*, that the specialists of the second group are becoming fewer. There used to be many *chirimiteros;* now there are but three. Young men want to learn to play the violin rather than the *chirimía*. The few remaining *huehuechihque* are overworked. The greater need for

[424] [428] [1] "In such wisdom lies precisely the success of the trade and because of its precious formulas, reserved in most rigorous secrecy, pass from father to son as an inestimable legacy, and only on rare occasions to the predilect worker, generally the future son-in-law, as a recompense for great fidelity" (M. O. de Mendizabal, "Powder That Kills and Powder That Amuses," *Mexican Folkways*, III [1927], 15).

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midwives and herb-doctors keeps these occupations flourishing, and the art of the fireworks-maker is also a livelihood, like those of the baker and butcher. 178 463

It is probable, on the other hand, that the occupations of the first group are increasing in variety. Each new mechanical device requires a new specialist. A few years ago the first steam mill was put up in Tepoztlán; it brought with it the first miller, a foreigner to Tepoztlán. There is talk among *los correctos* of some day putting a small electric power plant in a waterfall near by. This is perhaps remote, but when it happens it will bring other specialties with it. Each of these city-born occupations brings a new world of special interest, a new tradesman or professional who is not hampered by tradition, who thinks in terms of his occupation, who is interested in perfecting it and making it yield more, who continues, therefore, to communicate with the city and take over its changing ways. Such a specialty is not a traditional prerogative, but a commercial opportunity won by competition. The storekeepers of Tepoztlán are becoming its first bankers. The waxing of the first group of specialists and the waning of the second group describes the progressive secularization of labor in Tepoztlán. [256] [376] [441]

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Sometimes *los aires* demand a chicken [*Piden un pollo*]. Then you take a live chicken and tie it by the water tank or wherever the sickness came, and leave it there until it dies. If you ate it yourself you would die.[1]

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*Los aires* are apparently the extant representatives of some or all of the many specialized deities of disease of the ancient Aztecs. The change they have undergone is that experienced by the European gods that became fairies and goblins. It would seem that the *ahuahque*[2] are also the descendants of pre-Columbian deities;[3] but so far as the present materials go,[4] the

[1] Told by a girl about thirteen years old, a *tonta*. [2] See p. 121.

[3] It seems probable that *los aires* are in part, at least, the *tlaloques*, the minor gods of rain. The doll is probably the twentieth-century manifestation of the dough i[illegible]es offered in propitiation. "Todos los montes eminentes, especialmente [illegible] se arman nublados para llover, imaginaban que eran dioses y a cada u[illegible] ellos hacían su imagen según la idea que tenían de los tales. Tenían tambien imaginación de que ciertas enfermedades acometían, hacían voto de hacer fiesta y ofrenda a tal o tal monte de quien estaba mas cerca, o con quien tenía mas devoción. También hacían semejante voto aquellos que se veían en algun peligro de ahogarse en el agua de los rios, o de la mar. Las enfermedades porque hacían dichos votos era la gota de las manos, o de las pies o de cualquiera parte del cuerpo, y también el tullimiento de algun miembro, o de todo el cuerpo; también el embaramiento del pezcuezo, o de otra parte o encogimiento de algun miembro, o el pararse yerto. Estos tales a quienes estas enfermedades acontecían, hacían voto de hacer las imagines de los dioses que se siguen: á saber del dios del aire, de la del agua, y del dios de la lluvia . . . ." (Sahagun, Book I, chap. xxi). Sahagun goes on to tell how the afflicted one asked the priest to prepare and offer the image and describes the ceremony then held. [755] [782]

Probably other ancient gods contribute to the present folk concept. "Estas diosas llamadas Civapipilti eran todas las mugeres que morían del primer parto, a las cuales canonizaban por diosas, según esta escrito en el 6 libro, en el capitulo 28; . . . . estas diosas andan juntas por el aire, y aparecen cuando quieren a los niños y niñas los empecen con enfermedades, como es dandolas mal de perlesía, y entrando en los cuerpos humanos. Decían que andaban en las encrucijadas de los caminos, y por esto les padres y madres vedaban a sus hijos y hijas que en ciertas días del año en que tenían que descendían estas diosas, no saliesen fuera de casa, porque no topasan con ellos, y no les hiciesen algun daño . . . ." (*ibid.*, chap. x).

[4] But see Frances Toor, art., "Cures and Medicine Women," p. 18.

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178 776 *ahuahque* are the mountain-dwelling, terrifying gods of thunder and rain, and are not connected with disease.

755 757 These limited materials suggest that in general the medical treatments in use in Tepoztlán are like those of all folk communities—a stock of traditional curative acts tending to be ritualistic. But, to a certain extent, there is available to an afflicted invididual the [369] choice of applying remedies of the city. Not a few have lived in the city and have learned to use some of [278] the drugs in official pharmacopeias. One or two in- [444] dividuals in Tepoztlán keep a few commercial drugs on hand for sale. There are drug stores in Cuernavaca, and not infrequently an individual, even a *tonto*, [484] will walk there to secure a medicine. A prolonged [752] toothache, which has survived the ministrations of the herbalist, may cause the sufferer to go to Cuernavaca to have the tooth extracted.

177 757 It might be supposed that this choice of remedial systems would in time bring about an experimental attitude on the part of Tepoztecans and favor the extension of rational conduct in the treatment of disease and the corresponding diminution of magical behavior. A collection of cases might show the mech- [369] anisms of the process. What affect the city ways are having on the attitude toward disease is, however, probably slowly felt, and so far the traditional cures are paramount. During two or three months of 1925 [759] or 1926 a Bulgarian doctor,[1] one of the few Europeans

[1] Known to the Tepoztecans as a German.

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# *introduction*

In 1926 Robert Redfield, a young American anthropologist, first studied the village of Tepoztlán and gave us his pioneer work, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village*.[1] This book has since become a standard reference and a classic in the field of community studies.[2] It is of particular importance in the history of community studies in that it contains Redfield's first statement on the nature of the folk society, and, at least implicitly, the concept of the folk-urban continuum, a hypothesis of societal change later made explicit in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.[3] The folk-urban conceptualization of culture change now enjoys great prestige among sociologists and anthropologists, and has served as the theoretical frame of reference for many of the community studies done by Redfield's students.[4]

In the same year in which Redfield's first book appeared, Stuart Chase visited Tepoztlán for a short while and later described it in his book, *Mexico, a Study of Two Americas*.[5] His account, based largely on Redfield's work, was, in effect, a popularized version of the folk-urban dichotomy. In it Tepoztlán was compared very favorably with Middletown, U.S.A.

Seventeen years after Redfield's study, I went to Tepoztlán to do a broad ethnographic and historical study of the social, economic, political, and religious life of the community, with special emphasis upon an analysis of the changes which had occurred in the village since 1926. This involved a restudy of the village and a comparison of our findings.[6] Special attention, however, was given to those aspects of village life which Redfield had merely touched upon, such as demography, the land problem, systems of agriculture, the distribution of wealth, standards of living, politics and local government, the life cycle of the individual, and interpersonal relations. The bulk of the materials presented in this book is therefore new data.[7]

Upon my arrival in the village it seemed to be in many respects as Redfield had described it. In physical appearance it had changed but little. Once off the highway which runs to the plaza, there were the same unpaved streets and adobe houses, the barrio chapels, the people carrying water to their homes from the nearest fountain, the men wearing their ancient white *calzones* and huaraches, the bare-

[1] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[2] It is interesting to note that at the time of publication Redfield viewed it as a preliminary investigation which he hoped to continue. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

[3] Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[4] See, for example, Julio de la Fuente, *Yalalag, Una Villa Zapoteca Serrana* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Antropología, 1949); and Horace Miner, *St. Denis, a French Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

[5] Stuart Chase, *Mexico—a Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931).

[6] Originally it was planned to use Redfield's monograph as an ethnographic base for a personality study. It soon became apparent, however, that because of the many changes which had occurred since 1926, a restudy of the village was necessary. The importance of restudies in the social sciences and the implications of the differences in our findings are treated in Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 427.

[7] It was not necessary for our purposes to restudy certain aspects of village life adequately covered by Redfield, such as the material culture, the fiesta system, the *corridos*, magic, and medicine.

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foot women with braids and long skirts. But signs of change could also be seen. There were the new asphalt road, the buses, the tourist cars, the Coca-Cola and aspirin signs, the Sinarquist placards on a roadside wall, the queue of women and children waiting to have their corn ground at the mills, the new stores and poolrooms in the plaza, and a few women with bobbed hair and high-heeled shoes. Moreover, school enrollment had increased from the "few score" of Redfield's time, to over six hundred, and the village had obtained *ejidos* under the national *ejido* program.

What had really happened in these past seventeen years? How profound were these changes? How had native institutions been affected? What old problems had been resolved and what new problems had been created? To what extent had the villagers become incorporated into the main stream of national life? How did the increase in trade and the influx of wealth affect the cultural habits of the people, their standards of living, their aspirations, their thinking? In short, had the people and their way of life really changed?

These questions are of much more than local interest. The changes which had occurred in Tepoztlán were taking place over wide areas of Mexico and the world. It was hoped that an intensive study of a single village might enable us to get at some of the fundamental processes and principles of culture change, and at the same time be useful to administrators concerned with the task of carrying out welfare programs in the so-called backward areas of the world.

The conditions for such a study seemed especially propitious in Tepoztlán for a number of reasons. Most of the changes noted above had come after 1926. We could therefore use Redfield's study as a base line from which to measure and analyze these changes. We could also work with some of Redfield's informants and with others who had lived through this period. Here was an unusual opportunity for an anthropologist.

As the field work progressed, other problems arose. It became apparent that many of the changes which had taken place in the village, particularly in social organization and attitudes of the people, were part and parcel of a larger process of culture change which dated back at least before the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20. We therefore had to go back some time, preceding Redfield's visit, and study the effects of the Mexican Revolution upon the village.

But the historical focus could not be limited to the Revolution. It was desirable to study the history of the village from pre-Hispanic times if we were to appreciate the contemporary scene and to interpret the pattern of change. Indeed, one of the advantages of studying a peasant community like Tepoztlán, as compared with a truly isolated and non-literate society, is the possibility of getting historical perspective. For this purpose the following sources were used: archaeological findings, legends, unpublished archive materials on the village covering a period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; comparative data on pre-Hispanic Mexico and colonial Mexico from sixteenth-century chroniclers and other sources; the files of the national and state government agencies which had contacts with the village; and finally, the reconstruction of conditions before the Revolution of 1910-20 from the accounts of informants who had lived through that time.

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The intensive historical study served a number of ends. It served to check the validity of some generalizations made by historians and other scholars concerning various aspects of Mexican history. For example, there has been some disagreement among scholars about the size of the pre-Hispanic population and the rate of depopulation after the Conquest.[8] As we shall see, the data on Tepoztlán throw some light on this subject. Similarly, there have been divergent interpretations of the Mexican Revolution. Here we have a village which was in the heart of it. What can an intensive study of a single village tell us about the results of the Revolution? How does it fit in with the general picture? How did the *ejido* program work out in this particular case, and what clarification does this offer on the larger agrarian problem? In this study I attempt to answer these and other questions. A sufficient number of similarly detailed local studies might provide new insights which could be used in the formulation of more accurate broad generalizations.[9]

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The field techniques used in this study were those of the current anthropological repertory, and included participant-observers, interviews, autobiographies, case studies, and a battery of psychological tests including the Rorschach. A study of a relatively large and complex village like Tepoztlán, with a population of approximately 3,500,[10] with differences in the size of barrios, the degree of wealth, and the attitude of the older and younger generation, and with a rapidly changing culture, presented formidable problems. Assistance was necessary; furthermore, the traditional anthropological reliance upon a few informants for obtaining a picture of the culture was obviously inadequate in this situation. Sampling and securing data and informants representative of all the significant differences in the village seemed just as important here as in a study of a modern urban community. We therefore employed quantitative procedures wherever possible, utilizing census data, local government records and documents, schedules, and questionnaires. Numerous village surveys were made with the assistance of local informants and a small staff of field workers.

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Two aspects of the field study deserve special mention. Intensive case studies of representative families were carried on, by living with a family and applying to this family all of the techniques and conceptual categories traditionally used by the anthropologist in studying a larger social unit. Seven families were studied intensively in this manner, with the aid of student assistants. Much of the detailed information on inter-personal relations contained within this volume was obtained from these family studies.[11] Two of these studies will appear in a later publication.

[8] Cf. the conservative estimate of Bailey W. Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Sons, 1945), pp. 179-80; and Sherburne F. Cook and Lesley B. Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948).

[9] Intensive historical studies of small areas are increasing. See, for example, Sherburne F. Cook, "The Historical Demography and Ecology of the Teotlalpan," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXIII (1949).

[10] The population of some other Mexican communities for which we have anthropological studies are as follows: Chan Kom, 251 (1930); Tzintzuntzan, 1,231 (1945); Mitla, 2,500 (1936); and Cherán, 5,000 (1945).

[11] For a discussion of some of the possibilities of this kind of family study, see Oscar Lewis, "An Anthropological Approach to Family Studies," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LV, No. 5 (March, 1950).

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most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

### *POPULATION*

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

#### SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

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joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

*Divorce and Separation:* On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

*Changes in Marriage:* The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

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price and services to the in-laws;[1] (4) increase in letter-writing as a prelude to courtship; (5) marked increase in elopements, which may be indicative of the breakdown of parental authority in these matters; (6) introduction of civil marriage by national law; (7) desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and their in-laws and to set up their own home; (8) decreasing importance in the role of godparents in marriage, in many cases the girl no longer sleeps at the home of her godparents the night before the wedding but stays at home; and (9) the increased expenses in marriage.

[1] See Chapter 18, "Adolescence, Courtship, and Marriage," p. 406.

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TABLE 19. Occupations, 1926 and 1944.

| Occupations | Total in 1926 (Redfield) | 1944 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Men | Women | No. Owning Milpas | No. Working in Milpas | No. with Additional Occupations |
| Storekeepers | 5 | 20 | 15 | 5 | 15 | 6 | 4 |
| Teachers | 2 | 21 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 4 | .. |
| Butchers | 3 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 9 | 7 | 1 |
| Shoemakers | 2 | 5 | 5 | .. | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Carpenters | 3 | 9 | 9 | .. | 7 | 8 | 2 |
| Masons | 4 | 25 | 25 | .. | 18 | 24 | 5 |
| Ironworkers | 2 | 3 | 3 | .. | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Bakers | 6 | 23 | 21 | 2 | 11 | 18 | 2 |
| Barbers | 5 | 15 | 15 | .. | 11 | 14 | 4 |
| *Curanderos* and midwives | 23 | 28 | 5 | 23 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| *Chirimiteros* | 3 | 6 | 6 | .. | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| *Huehuechiques* | 2 | 2 | 2 | .. | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Fireworks makers | 2 | 6 | 6 | .. | 5 | 6 | 1 |
| Mask makers | 3 | 6 | 6 | .. | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| *Mágicos* | 2 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Corn merchants | 2 | 13 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 2 | .. |
| Silver workers | .. | 2 | 2 | .. | 1 | 1 | .. |
| Ropemakers | .. | 42 | 42 | .. | 39 | 41 | 9 |
| Charcoal makers | .. | 13 | 13 | .. | 9 | 9 | 2 |
| Millers | .. | 3 | 3 | .. | 3 | 1 | .. |
| Tile and brickmakers | .. | 12 | 12 | .. | 9 | 12 | .. |
| Druggists | .. | 2 | 2 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Chauffeurs | .. | 6 | 6 | .. | 3 | .. | .. |
| Plumbers | .. | 2 | 2 | .. | 2 | .. | .. |
| Bus line employees | .. | 17 | 17 | .. | 12 | 11 | .. |
| Candlemakers[a] | | | | | | | |
| Total[b] | 69 | 273 | 220 | 53 | 186 | 160 | 23 |

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[a] Redfield did not give figures for the occupation of candlemaker. In 1949 there was only one candlemaker, who had a limited local trade. Most of the candles used in the village are made in Cuernavaca. Upon the death of the now aged candlemaker, this occupation will probably disappear in Tepoztlán.

[b] These totals, except Redfield's column, have been corrected for duplications of occupations. Twenty-three individuals have more than one profession so that the same individual may appear as ropemaker, charcoal maker, etc. Because we lacked the necessary data on overlapping of the occupations listed by Redfield, we could not arrive at an accurate number of individuals, although it was most certainly less than 69.

[174] millers, barbers, druggists, chauffeurs, and bus employees, are more clearly modern, and most of them date from the time of the construction of the road in 1936.

[491]

[178] One of the most important trends in the village during the past twenty years has been an expansion in the number of occupations and an increase in specialization. There are two kinds of specialists in the village, full-time and part-time. Among the latter are (1) specialists who divide their time between two or more occupations, and (2) specialists who divide their time between their specialty and farming. Still another distinction can be made within both of the above categories,

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for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and number of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlacolol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[1] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza, there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[1] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.

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Of the *curanderos*, four are new and have learned their specialty within the last ten years. Of the two *chirimiteros* referred to by Redfield, one died a short time ago and the other still practices; four have learned their skill within the last six years. The two *huehuechiques* are the same ones of twenty years ago; there have been no new recruits. Of the two fireworks makers of twenty years ago, one has died; the other five are all new in the trade. The three mask makers of Redfield's time are still working, but in addition two sons and a cousin have learned the trade.

At this point we may ask what the prospects are for the survival of these folk specialists in the face of the changes which are taking place in the village. The prospects for the survival of the occupations of mask makers and fireworks makers are very good. The former is dependent primarily upon the Carnaval and the latter upon the barrio fiestas, neither of which shows the slightest signs of dying out. On the contrary, the former has grown in importance and has become an occasion of great spending, while the latter continues unabated and has the active support of the young men, many of whom are comparatively sophisticated.

The prospects for the survival of the *chirimiteros* are not quite as good because their function is gradually being taken over by the modern secular musicians. This tendency can be seen in the center barrios, where, as in Redfield's time, culture changes appeared first in the village. In the last barrio fiesta of San Miguel, in place of the primitive *chirimía*, a fifteen-piece band played from the chapel roof throughout the night. The profession that seems certain to become extinct is that of the *huehuechique*, for this occupation depends on the knowledge and use of Náhuatl, which is rapidly disappearing in the village.[8] An important change in connection with the occupations of *chirimitero* and *huehuechique* is that these specialists are now paid in money; formerly they were compensated with food and drink, another indication of the increasing importance of money.

Prediction in the case of the *curanderos* is more difficult. Most Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their *curanderos*. But they have reached the stage where they are willing to consider the doctor as an alternative, especially in the case of serious illness. Many Tepoztecans now visit private doctors and the Public Health Clinic in Cuernavaca. Certainly the hold of the *curanderos* has become much weaker; they are no longer as busy as formerly, and their income on the whole is very small. There are only two *curanderos* in the village who have great prestige and good income.

This raises the question of the relative desirability of the survival of old institutions in the face of general trends toward modernization. While this problem will be discussed later, it can be pointed out here that a sharp distinction must be made between the social effects of such old institutions as the Carnaval and barrio fiestas on the one hand and the *curandero* on the other. The fiestas, especially the Carnaval, provide much needed diversion for all age groups and tend to unify the village.

[8] During the time that this was being written, one of the two *huehuechiques* died, and no new recruit has appeared to take his place.

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The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

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256 463 The successful establishment of corn mills in Tepoztlán (Fig. 19) is important as an example of the process by which a modern technological trait becomes incorporated into a "folk culture." The first mill was set up in 1925 by a non-Tepoztecan. The response of the village was so feeble that he left after two years. Redfield lived in the village during this first attempt and explained some of the obstacles.

There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes.

[562] [461] To these reasons our informants added another: the strongest objections to the mill came not from the women but from the men, who viewed with great distrust the prospects of their wives having some leisure. The men believe firmly that the more occupied a woman is, the less are the possibilities of infidelity.

Shortly after Redfield left the village, a Tepoztecan opened another mill with great success. This success was due to a campaign of a group of women who saw the advantages which the mill would bring. Two years later another mill opened, and by 1942 there were four in the village. Today there is not a woman who does [562] not regularly patronize the mills. A male informant described the success of the mill as "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men."

463 178 Having discussed the increase in the old occupations and the addition of new ones, we can now consider the question of specialization. It is here that we find one of the most important developments. Twenty years ago all of the so-called specialists were also farmers who closed their shops and went into the fields during the seasons of planting and harvesting. Today, considering all of the occupations, new and old, we find that of 220 men, 60 no longer work as farmers. The occupations in which we find the largest percentage of full-time specialists are as follows: storekeepers, chauffeurs, and bus line employees, teachers, butchers, shoemakers, millers, plumbers, druggists, barbers, and corn merchants.

It is interesting to note that generally the full-time specialists are in the "new" occupations, while the part-time specialists are in the occupations dating from the colonial and pre-Hispanic periods.

## *COLLECTIVE LABOR*

476 651 653 Collective labor,[10] known as the *cuatequitl*, is in all probability an ancient tradition in Tepoztlán. At present it takes a number of forms, the village *cuatequitl*, the barrio *cuatequitl*, the *cuatequitl* of neighbors, and, on rare occasions, an inter-village *cuatequitl*. The village *cuatequitl* is a compulsory form of collective labor organized by the village authorities for public works such as improving the roads, constructing public buildings, or doing other work which, in theory, will benefit the village as a whole. Each able-bodied man between ages twenty-one and fifty can

[10] Family labor has already been treated in Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 61.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



nales, refused to work side by side, and each organized separate shifts, one beginning at Tepoztlán and working toward Cuernavaca, the other working from Cuernavaca toward Tepoztlán.

Although the village *cuatequitl* is intended as a means of aiding the village as a whole, there are many obstacles to its successful operation, and it is gradually declining. Perhaps the fundamental difficulty is the inherent individualism of Tepoztecans, the suspiciousness and critical attitude toward the local government, and the paucity of local funds. The village *cuatequitl* has been traditionally associated in the minds of the villagers as a coercive rather than a voluntary institution. This may

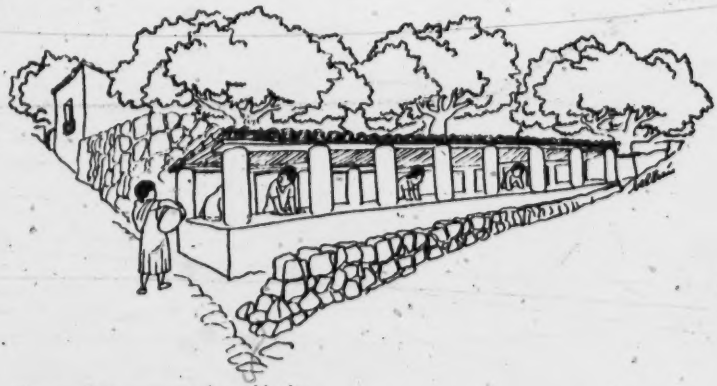

Fig. 20. The communal washbasins.

be the result of having lived under an authoritarian system in which the local government had been imposed for years. Since the local government, generally the *síndico* or the president, has the power to designate the citizens who are to work in the *cuatequitl*, there is ample opportunity for favoritism and vengeance against political opponents or personal enemies.

It may be significant in this connection that children in their games will often say, "Unless you do this I will give you your *cuatequitl*," suggesting that the *cuatequitl* is viewed as a punishment. It should also be noted that historically the existence of a native institution for collective labor was a distinct aid to the Spanish conquerors in their organization and control of the labor supply.

The second type of *cuatequitl* is the barrio *cuatequitl*. This is the collective working of the lands of the barrio saints. Barrio members are expected to cooperate in the preparation of the land, planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops from the saints' field. The sale of the produce goes for the upkeep of the local chapel. In contrast to the village *cuatequitl*, participation in the barrio *cuatequitl* is entirely voluntary. The barrio *mayordomo* goes through the barrio announcing at each house the time of the *cuatequitl*. While there are no fines or penalties for non-

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

### *WAGE LABOR*

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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A man who pays his rent despite crop failure earns the reputation of being *muy honrado* (very honorable) and is sought as a renter.

There is no sharecropping as such in Tepoztlán. When rental is in corn, there is a fixed quantity of corn agreed upon in advance, rather than a percentage of the crop. The landowner, therefore, takes little risk.

### *LAND VALUES*

The price of most agricultural lands, that is, the lands which Tepoztecans classify as second and third class, has increased more slowly than other lands, as can be seen in Table 26. During and immediately after the Revolution of 1910-20, land prices fell sharply. Many sold their land at any price in order to stave off starvation, and land parcels changed hands for a small quantity of corn. Since 1920, land prices have been rising steadily. This rise was accentuated by the new road which, with the influx of tourists who have sought land for summer homes, has made for a phenomenal rise in the price of house sites in the village. Distance from the road and from the central plaza, and proximity to one of the twenty-six water fountains, are the most important factors affecting the price of land.

Table 26. Land Prices From 1901 to 1944.

| Year | Cost of House Sites (in Pesos) | | Cost of Arable Land per Hectare (in Pesos) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 to 500 Meters From Water Fountains | 500 or More Meters From Water Fountains | Poorest Land | Best Land |
| 1901–1910 | 60 | 40 | 40 | 60 |
| 1911–1920 | 30 | 15 | 10 | 20 |
| 1921–1926 | 40 | 25 | 25 | 100 |
| 1927–1930 | 70 | 50 | 60 | 150 |
| 1931–1935 | 100 | 75 | 120 | 200 |
| 1936–1940 | 175 | 125 | 200 | 400 |
| 1941 | 300 | 250 | 350 | 450 |
| 1942 | 500 | 300 | 400 | 500 |
| 1943 | 1,000 | 400 | 450 | 800 |
| 1944 | 2,000 | 1,000 | 500 | 1,000 |

The change in the Tepoztecan attitudes toward selling land to outsiders is one of the most interesting of all changes in the village. Until about 1942, Tepoztecans were very reluctant to sell their land to outsiders. A leading Mexican banker who wanted to build his home in the village had to negotiate for over a year before he could succeed in buying a modest-sized, idle plot of land whose Tepoztecan owner had been residing in Mexico City for many years. Similarly, one of my assistants had to wait for months before she was able to find a plot of land, and then she could only buy one at a considerable distance from the center.

When I returned to the village three years later, a change had occurred; Tepoz-

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tecans were looking for land buyers. In the summer of 1947, I was approached by three individuals who wanted to sell me a house plot. However, the high price paid by the Mexican banker and a few other early comers gave Tepoztecans an exaggerated notion of the value of their land. House sites which were worth about 100 to 200 pesos in 1927 now would not be sold for less than 10,000 pesos. This has made a few people wealthy, especially those who were fortunate enough to have house sites fronting the new road.

## *THE LAND PROBLEM*

The land problem in Tepoztlán is not a recent phenomenon. It was at least as severe in the twenties, before the *ejido* grants, and it was certainly more acute before the Revolution. Twenty years ago, the 158 families who now have *ejidos* were landless *peones*. Thus, the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has had at least two beneficial effects. It has reduced the number of landless families, and it has helped some families, who had insufficient land, to increase their holdings. But the *ejido* program has by no means solved the land problem, for 384 families still remain landless and have little prospect of becoming landowners. Although the *ejido* program brought new and more modern agricultural techniques, there is still not a single tractor in Tepoztlán.

It is apparent that our findings on land-ownership in Tepoztlán differ from those in Redfield's earlier study. Redfield did not mention the existence of a land problem or land shortage in Tepoztlán. Although Redfield gives no clear-cut statement on the matter of land-ownership, and treats the entire subject rather incidentally, there is an implication that each family in Tepoztlán owned its own land. Redfield writes, "Most families have at least a small milpa in which the men are active during the seasons of sowing and harvesting."[7] We have shown that in 1944, 64 per cent of the families owned no private land, and there is no reason to believe that the land situation was any better in 1926. Redfield's use of the term "milpa" is perhaps responsible for what appears to be a sharp difference in our findings. He did not distinguish between a privately owned milpa and a milpa of communally owned land. A Tepoztecan speaks of "my milpa" in referring to rented land, communal land, or private land. Unless the investigator probed further, he might well get the impression that all Tepoztecans were landowners.

Redfield conveyed this impression in another connection. In discussing private lands he wrote,

> Characteristically each *sitio* has an appendant milpa which may be located as much as a mile away from the *sitio;* but the two are usually taxed and inherited together. These tracts are not infrequently sold, but most of them have been in the same family for many generations.[8]

This quotation raises a number of questions. First, Tepoztecans distinguish be-

[7] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 61.

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Fig. 23. Tepoztecans, returning home from work.

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is practiced by necessity, for the fields cease to produce after the first few years; in plow culture, the same fields may be planted year after year until the soil is completely exhausted. [242]

*Tlacolol* is essentially geared to production for subsistence, while plow culture is better geared to production for the market. It is significant that most families who work *tlacolol* are landless and that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as the last resort of the poor. However, farmers who own small plots of land may also work some *tlacolol* to supplement their meager income. Indeed, in the past few years a new trend is occurring in the village because of inflation. Tepoztecans who own considerable private land now rent it out or let it rest, and themselves work in *tlacolol*. This is resented by most *tlacololeros*, who believe that the communal lands should serve the landless. The attitude of the *tlacololeros* is better understood in the light of the fact that the communal lands are becoming exhausted and can no longer support the present-day population. [433] [735] [178] [427] [678]

Other differences between *tlacolol* and plow culture include the cycles of work, the tools, the type of corn, the work techniques, and even the terminology. Gen-

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*blanco*, *pepitillo blanco*, and *semilla azul*.[8] *Ancho blanco* is the most widely used corn; *pepitillo* is used only in the heavier clay soils. *Semilla azul* is used for replanting cornfields which have not germinated, because it ripens faster and catches up with the earlier plantings.

A large number of Tepoztecans still follow the custom of having the seed blessed by the priest on the day of San Isidro, May fifteenth. Generally the women take the corn to the church. Each woman selects about ten of the finest ears of corn, as well as some of her best beans and squash. She may also take along some copal and a censer. As many as two hundred women may attend this blessing. As they burn the incense in the church, the priest comes out and blesses the seed with holy water. The ears of corn which have been blessed are to be placed in the milpas to rot and must not be burned, or the seed will not grow.

The ancient custom of addressing the seed in Náhuatl, before planting, is still remembered by most men over age fifty. Many informants recall that their grand fathers spoke to the corn in a short formal ritual, before planting. The ceremony in the fields was often accompanied by great emotion and even weeping. One of these speeches translated from the Náhuatl follows:

"My beloved body and strength, go and bear the cold and the storm of the seasons; all is for us."[9]

Today a similar ritual is still followed by a relatively small number of Tepoztecans, except that the recitations include references to God and are said in Spanish. The following are examples of present-day blessings:

God bless you. I bury you and if you return while I still live the satisfaction will be mine; if not then my descendants.

In the name of God I am going to plant this seed. I implore Thee to bless my work.

Bless your sainted name God Our Father who is the first one to care for us. From here you go out and from where you go out God wishes you to return. For I am going to throw you into the field and you will remain only with the blessing of God. And may God free you so that we all will have something.

In planting corn, two men and one team of oxen are the minimum requirement. More than one team is rarely employed on a single field. However, two or three men may be used if the owner has a large family or can afford to hire *peones*. In planting on land that has been newly broken, the plow is always pulled at right angles to the existing furrows. One man, the oxen driver, leads the oxen while another man follows and drops four seeds in the furrow for each plant at a space of about a pace apart. The seed is dropped in front of the left toe, and the dirt is pushed over the seeds with the right foot. In planting the first few seeds, some Tepoztecans still follow the old custom of making the sign of the cross with their hand as they drop the seeds. Older men believe that planting one day after the

[8] See Appendix A, p. 449.

[9] "Notlashocuyo yocatnin xomohuicatetsi quexquich ezquiztli tonalli huan yeccatl timochical huitiui tepampa."

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241 423 [178] land and *ejido*. Most of the families who either owned private land or held *ejido* or both and who also worked *tlacolol* had turned to *tlacolol* because their holdings were too small to support their families. But there is a trend among even the better-to-do families to turn back to *tlacolol;* for example, twelve of the twenty families who owned private land, held an *ejido* grant, and worked *tlacolol*, were among the large landowners.

SIZE OF CLEARINGS

Most *tlacolol* clearings are small, averaging between eight and twelve *cuartillos* of seed. The largest *tlacolol* operator in the village plants only thirty-five *cuartillos*. As we shall see, the great amount of labor necessary for clearing *tlacolol* land is the most important limiting factor in the size of clearings used. A related factor, however, is the growing shortage of land which has sufficiently grown back into forest after earlier clearings. Furthermore, *tlacolol* is definitely viewed as subsistence [626] agriculture, and any man who cleared inordinately large areas, even if he could, would incur the wrath of the other villagers.

TOOLS OF PRODUCTION

241 412 Plow and oxen are ruled out in *tlacolol* because of the nature of the terrain. In *texcal* the large volcanic rocks lie around helter skelter, so that it is difficult for a man even to walk. Similarly the steep slopes of the *cerros*, and the lime outcroppings make the plow and oxen impractical. In both types of *tlacolol*, the tools used are the *coa, tlalache, coxala, azadón*, and machete. (See Fig. 29.) They are homemade [438] except for the iron tips in the hoe and machete, which are bought. Thus, in con- [422] trast to farmers in plow culture, most *tlacololeros* own their own tools. The cost of the *tlalache* and the *coa* are shown in Table 35.

[435]

TABLE 35. Cost of *Tlalache* and *Coa*, Tools Used in *Tlacolol*.

| Year | Cost in Pesos | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Tlalache* | *Coa* |
| 1926 | 1.50 | 1.25 |
| 1935 | 2.25 | 1.75 |
| 1940 | 3.00 | 2.25 |
| 1944 | 5.50 | 3.25 |

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

243 *Preparation of Land:* Work in *tlacolol* begins in January. The trees are cut with an ax, and the bush is cleared with a machete, extremely difficult and time-consuming work. It takes approximately 40 to 50 days for a man to clear enough land for the planting of 12 *cuartillos* of corn. The trees and brush dry out and are burned in April, and the ashes are left to "fertilize" the soil. Burning is generally done in a single day with two or three men working together. If the materials are not all burned, the group will return and work another day. Enclosures of rocks

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Fig. 32. Picking hog plums.

## *ROPEMAKING*

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Ropemaking, like charcoal burning, is limited to the smaller upper barrios of the village, and is concentrated in the barrio of San Sebastián where ten families [621] engage in this occupation during the dry slack season. All of these families are in [735] the lower economic level of the village, so ropemaking is also an occupation of the poor.

According to local tradition, ropemaking was introduced into the village about [177] 1883 by a man from Ajuchitlán who came to live in the barrio of San Sebastián.[8] [178] It is interesting that in all the years since then, there has been little spread of ropemaking to other parts of the village, and there has been little change in the techniques employed, except that the ropes have become much longer. In 1890 ropes only 12 varas long were made. Now Tepoztecans make ropes 24 and 30 varas long.

Ropemaking is a family affair; it takes two or three persons for the major operation, twisting. Most of the *ixtle* fiber is obtained from the maguey plants which grow on the *cerros* of the communal lands. But only about half of the families who make [314] rope gather their own *ixtle* fiber; the others buy it.

The maguey plant is beaten with a special tool which breaks up the plant so that the fibers can be extracted. The fiber is then soaked overnight. The fiber is spun on a simple spinning device and is then ready for the rope twisting process. This is done on a rather complicated homemade device shown in Fig. 33.

[8] Although we have no evidence as to whether ropemaking as it is now known existed in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán, it is probable that some type of cordage was known and used in connection with weaving.

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Cuernavaca and other large towns, and the exchange and barter of goods between families in the village. Changes in the means of communication within the last twenty years have made some of these factors more important than others. In general, the effect of the road to Tepoztlán has been to weaken the local market, to increase the importance of stores and trade relations with Cuernavaca, to decrease the extent of inter-village trade within the municipio, and to abolish completely earlier trade relations with other villages of the region.

The market days in Tepoztlán are Wednesday and Sunday. As in Redfield's time, vendors from the satellite villages and from more distant localities gather in the central plaza where they offer their wares. Merchants from Cuernavaca, Toluca, and Mexico City may be seen occasionally. Some come by foot in the old tradition, others by bus, and others with their own cars.

The old tradition, as reported by Redfield, whereby each of the seven villages of the municipio had its customary place in the market, is still remembered and followed. But it is only on a rare occasion that vendors from all the villages are present on the same market day. During the greater part of the year, vendors from only two or three of the villages come. (See Fig. 34.) By comparison with a market in an Oaxacan town of equal size, the Tepoztecan market is indeed

Fig. 34. Woman selling lime.

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"raquítico," as the Tepoztecans would say. Furthermore, the quality of the local fruits and other goods is poor and, unlike other Mexican villages, little care is given to display. There is also little variety of goods, and it is difficult to predict what will be available from one market day to another. In short, the market at Tepoztlán shows symptoms of decline.

In addition to the market days, there are permanent stores in the plaza. As has been indicated earlier, their number has increased and they have spread to the outlying barrios. The stores sell most of the daily household necessities and have a fairly stable clientele. Most sales are in small quantities because of the Tepoztecan custom of running to the store once or twice a day. But Tepoztecans are going to Cuernavaca more and more, and are making larger purchases; this has been a blow to local tradesmen who cannot compete with the Cuernavaca stores and market.

Itinerant merchants who peddle through the village streets come with a wide variety of goods, such as blankets, *petates*, palm-bottomed chairs, sweets, and clothing. In recent years these merchants have introduced selling on the installment plan, and make collections on their rounds.

Goods are also circulated by barter between families, although this is declining. Corn may be exchanged for eggs or other food. Corn is still used as payment for wages or for the services of *curanderos*, especially when small sums are involved.

Most Tepoztecan produce is sold outside the village, primarily in Cuernavaca. It is estimated that Tepoztecans sell approximately 1,000 *cargas* of corn per year. Many poor people complain that they have to go to Cuernavaca to purchase corn because none is available locally. Other Tepoztecan cash crops, charcoal and *ciruelas*, are also sold outside the village; charcoal goes to Yautepec and Cuernavaca, and *ciruelas* go to Cuernavaca and Mexico City.

Before the Revolution, Tepoztecans' trade relations spread over a wide area ranging from southern Jojutla, Guerrero, Ozumba in the Federal District, Puebla, Xochimilco, and Mexico City. Indigo was sold to Puebla, which, in turn, supplied dried fish. Merchants made frequent trips to Mexico City by foot, and the following account from an informant, aged 67, gives some idea of the role of the merchant and middleman in Tepoztlán before the Revolution.

My father was a farmer, a butcher, and a tradesman. He worked his fields and slaughtered pigs which he sold to the neighboring villages of the municipio, but especially in San Andrés and Gabriel Mariaca. Later he would go to the southern part of the state of Morelos to buy up fruit and send it to Mexico City where he would live for a portion of the year to sell the fruit. He would leave Tepoztlán in April or May. He returned here in early June to plant and remained here in June, July, August, and September. At the end of September he returned to Mexico City until November. After All Saints' Day he would return for the harvest.

My father went to Mexico City on foot, and the trip took all day. We would leave the village about 6:00 A.M., arrive at Xochimilco at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. The route was as follows: first to San Juan, then to a rancho called Oshokiah, in the mountains; from Oshokiah to

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nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[6]

The *cuescomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[6] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33-34.

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264 men carry their breakfast with them, to be warmed and eaten later. (See Fig. 40.) They may eat once again at noon and have their dinner when they arrive home, at any time from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M.

When they eat at home they are usually served first and receive preferential treatment. The women and children who remain at home eat breakfast at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 1:00 P.M., and supper at dusk. Younger children are generally fed before the mother and the older daughter sit down to eat. In most homes the

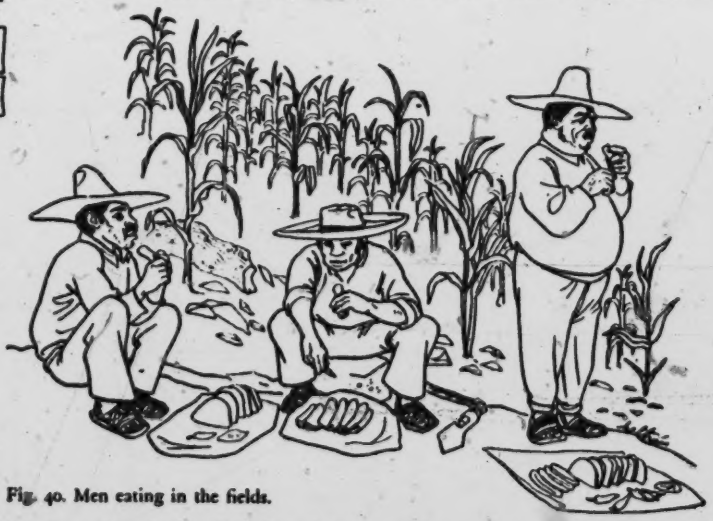

Fig. 40. Men eating in the fields.

members of the family sit on low chairs or stools, or the women and children sit on the floor. Very few families use a table except during a fiesta meal, and then it is only for the men and guests. Likewise, knives and forks are generally reserved for fiesta times only. The mother serves, handing each person his food in a bowl or wrapped in a tortilla. Spoons may be used, but food is usually eaten with the tortilla as a spoon.

For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortilla. Some take milk in their coffee and eat bread instead of tortilla; some eat toasted meat or warmed-over beans. During hard times, poorer families drink tea made from cinnamon or local herbs instead of coffee. It should be remembered that coffee drinking is a relatively new phenomenon among the poor; in the late nineteenth century only the *caciques* could afford it. Today, tea drinking is associated with poverty or illness, for many of the teas are used to cure stomach-ache, colds, sore throats, etc.[8]

[8] In many families it is customary for the father to begin the day with a drink of alcohol. Similarly, when the peasants return from the fields at night, they generally take a drink of alcohol to counteract *los aires* and to avoid taking cold.

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Unfortunately, we were not equipped to analyze family diets in terms of nutrition or caloric values, nor to determine the presence of vitamins, minerals, and other food elements. In our comparison of the two weekly diets presented here, we can only point to some of the quantitative aspects involved. These tend to parallel and support the more detailed data gathered by Beals and Hatcher in their study of the diet of Cherán.[10] The "wealthy" diet in Cherán is higher in vitamins A, $B_1$, and $B_2$ and protein and calory intake but lower in vitamin C than the "poor" diet. The latter was deficient in vitamins $B_1$ and $B_2$ and low in proteins and calories; vitamin C intake was higher because of the greater use of chile.

In Tepoztlán, we find that the wealthier family spends twelve times as much on the important protein foods—meat, eggs, and cheese—and that they also consume a larger quantity of beans, which is another source of protein. The high consumption of milk, in contrast to the complete absence of milk in the diet of the poor family, is important as a nutritional difference. The greater weekly consumption of sugar, fruits, and sweets would also result in higher calory intake for the wealthier family. Although the poor diet includes somewhat more chile, which is a good source of vitamin C, the better diet includes some vitamin C because of greater fruit consumption. The reliance of the poor family on wild greens, absent in the diet of the wealthier family, is an important source of minerals and vitamins.

The consumption of bread provides another strong contrast in the diet of our rich and poor families. The rich spend 28 times more on bread, or 13 per cent of the total weekly food expenditure. This item, which, in addition to its nutritional aspects, is an important indicator of social and economic status in Tepoztlán, represents an expenditure of 1.4 per cent for the poor family. The basic homogeneity of the Tepoztecan diet is deceptive in terms of nutrition and, in all probability, in terms of the simple satisfaction of hunger as well. It is not insignificant that all the children in the poorer family are small, thin, pale, and listless, while the two grown children in the wealthier family appear well nourished and well developed.

Diet is also affected by fluctuations in the cost of food. During the year there are seasonal changes, prices generally being higher in the months before the harvest, beginning with May, and dropping after the harvest. It is in the pre-harvest period when most families keenly feel a shortage of cash. But more important than seasonal variations in food costs is the fact that prices have risen sharply and steadily from 1926 to the present. This rise, more than any other factor, has tended to maintain the traditional or conservative diet in Tepoztlán and to hold back the definite trend toward new foods and greater variety. For instance, although the consumption of bread is viewed as desirable and has increased considerably (the number of bakers rose from 6 to 24 between 1926 and 1944), it is still a luxury for a large proportion of the population. The price has more than doubled in the past four years and is still rising. We find a strong correlation between the degree of wealth

[10] Ralph L. Beals and Evelyn Hatcher, "The Diet of a Tarascan Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October, 1943), pp. 298–301.

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and bread consumption, indicating that the economic factor is an important one. The following percentages show this correlation:

| *Economic Group* | *Per Cent Who Eat Bread* |
|---|---|
| I-A and I-B | 23.20 |
| I-C | 32.30 |
| II | 50.82 |
| III-A | 41.55 |
| III-B | 57.69 |
| Tepoztlán | 31.18 |

The consumption of meat has also risen considerably. In the same period, from 1926 to 1944, the number of butchers increased from three to fifteen. From an analysis of the municipio records which, for purposes of taxation, show the number and kind of animals slaughtered, we can arrive at a fairly accurate quantitative estimate of the increase in meat consumption.[11] Comparing 1931 and 1933 with 1941 and 1943, we find the following:

| *Animals* | *1931 and 1933* | *1941 and 1943* |
|---|---|---|
| Hogs | 289 | 640 |
| Oxen | 93 | 277 |
| Cows | 29 | 225 |
| Yearling calves | 94 | 130 |
| Steers | 173 | 264 |

Assigning approximate meat weights to the above animals, we find a total of 80,035 kilos for 1931 and 1933, as compared with 190,250 kilos for 1941 and 1943. Since practically no meat is sold outside the village, we can conclude that the consumption of meat during those years rose more than 130 per cent, while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. As in the case of bread, and based chiefly on our observation and data on budgets and diets, the consumption of meat is directly affected by family income and prevailing prices.

We have figures to show the rise in price of corn, beans, sugar, lard, salt, meat, and rice from 1926 to 1944. They are shown in Table 50.

In a period of eighteen years, the price of corn, beans, and meat has risen 400 per cent; lard and salt, 500 per cent; and sugar and rice, 300 per cent. In 1948, the prices were a great deal higher. For example, corn sold for 70 centavos a *cuartillo* in the local market. Unfortunately, we have no comparable data on family income, nor can we show how the rise in price has affected the gross consumption of the basic staples. But we have already noted in the budget studies that poverty tends to limit diet to the staples and to restrict sharply the purchase of new or varied foods.

[11] Many individuals do not report all animals killed, to evade the tax. These figures are, therefore, an underestimate.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| beef (bull or ox) | *chirimoya* | onion |
| cinnamon | honey | ice |
| orange | squash | ices |
| plums | garlic | ice cream |
| black *zapote* | *maney* | oil |
| brown sugar | alcohol | all fats |
| *tequesquite* | acacia seeds | |

## *CLOTHING*

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The old-style clothing is essentially Spanish in origin, with some admixture and adaptations from pre-Hispanic times. The old-style costume for women consists of a long dark-colored skirt (*enaguas de encima*), a white underskirt, (*enaguas de dentro*), a collarless undershirt (*camisa*), and a high-necked blouse (*blusa* or *huipil*). The costume includes a half-apron (*delantal*) and a sash (*ceñidor*). The *rebozo* is also invariably worn. About three or four generations ago women still wore the dress of pre-Conquest times. This consisted of a *huipil*, or blouse, which was a large square of cloth worn poncho-like, by slipping it over the head through a slit in the center. It was worn in such a way that two corners fell over the shoulders, and the front and back corners were tucked into the skirt. The *huipil* differs markedly from the prudish high-necked, long-sleeved *blusa* which displaced it in that it was very loose covering and freely revealed the breasts. The ancient skirt (*cueitl*) was a rectangular cloth which was wrapped around the lower part of the body and held in place with a sash.

The old-style clothing for men consists of white cloth pants (*calzones*), long white cloth underdrawers, a white collarless undershirt (*camisa*), a white collarless overshirt, and a white cotton jacket. Leather huaraches and a straw sombrero complete the costume. (See Fig. 41.) The large, Zapata-type sombreros have given way to smaller-brimmed hats, since the advent of the bus and increased travel. The serape is an important article of clothing and is used for warmth and for protection against rain. The *gabán* is a poncho-like wool blanket and is now considered more old-fashioned than the serape.

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The pre-Conquest clothing worn by men differed considerably from that in the post-Conquest period, but has nevertheless had more influence on later styles than pre-Conquest women's dress.

The ancient costume of the male Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments, the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cuetli*, sandals of leather or woven of *maguey* fiber. Of these three, the first has entirely disappeared, the second influenced the form and use of the modern *serape*, while the third remains little changed today.[10]

Children's old-style clothes were reproductions of adult clothing and were worn almost as soon as a child began to walk. (See Fig. 42.)

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[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 42.

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Fig. 41. Old-style clothing for men.

[178] The new type of dress existed among the wealthier and more citified Tepoztecans in the 1920's but has, during the past twenty years, spread among the rest of the population. For women, the new-style dress (Fig. 43) consists of a one-piece dress (*vestido*), a full-length slip (*combinación*), underdrawers, a long apron (*babero*), and perhaps shoes and stockings. Some of the younger women now use a brassière (*portabusto*), though these, as well as underdrawers, are often dispensed with after marriage. The *rebozo* is also commonly worn, but sweaters, jackets, and even coats are now coming into use. Girls wear one-piece dresses, underdrawers, and occasionally an underslip. The dresses vary in length from below the calves up to the knees.

Modern male dress consists of ready-made pants, a collared and buttoned shirt, and a collared jacket. (See Fig. 44.) Huaraches, now usually made of rubber soles, are still commonly worn, but shoes are worn daily by some, and on holidays and on trips to the city by many. The sombrero is sometimes replaced by a narrow-brimmed felt hat, but only the most citified men in Tepoztlán wear neckties. Modern dress for boys may be overalls or pants and a buttoned shirt. Occasionally a small boy may be seen in a blouse and short pants. Straw hats are universally worn by boys. The *gabán* and serape are now often replaced by a sweater or jacket, and many boys wear shoes.

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of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

| Barrio | Dresses* | *Pantalones* | Shoes (Daily) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Santo Domingo | 68.8 | 37.4 | 18.5 |
| La Santísima | 74.0 | 52.0 | 26.0 |
| San Miguel | 70.6 | 46.2 | 25.9 |
| Santa Cruz | 65.1 | 21.3 | 3.9 |
| Los Reyes | 70.0 | 17.5 | 1.7 |
| San Sebastián | 63.2 | 16.6 | 2.0 |
| San Pedro | 65.8 | 8.8 | 0.0 |

The use of dresses is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree

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of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cotton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

### *DIVERSION*

Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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*caciques*, united the church and state and supported the church as a strong conservative force. During this period the church recuperated much of its former glory and once more, pompous religious fiestas were celebrated in the village. The church, the *caciques*, and the merchants all benefited by the increase in religious activity. Attendance at fiestas was very large and public officials were present. As some of our informants said, "Formerly, the people participated in religious fiestas much more than today because they believed attendance was compulsory. No one dared to miss church after they had been visited by an official and told to attend."

Not only did the public attend religious ceremonies but they spent much money on fireworks, candles, music, flowers, and so forth. An informant compared present religious participation with that during the Díaz regime as follows:

> In the religious ceremonies it was common to have large processions which consisted in carrying the saints through the streets and all believers followed with their candles and prayers. Today we no longer burn artificial *juegos* as formerly. Today the citizens no longer sacrifice as much to make a good barrio fiesta. Formerly they had as many as three or four bands of dancers. Today only a few barrios send a band of dancers to the fiestas.

During the Díaz period, religious taxes were collected as they had been in colonial times, that is, by the *huehuechiques*, who went from house to house asking for the contribution. Today this custom is almost gone; *huehuechiques* function only in the barrios of Santa Cruz and San Sebastián.

Participation in fiestas was claimed as a public service by the local government. The president ordered citizens to do certain tasks or play certain roles on pain of fine or other punishment. For example, we were told of one president:

> He commissioned eight or ten men to go to the mountains of Acaloqua and Calencuahiuchuy, both distant from Tepoztlán, to cut palms for the celebration of Palm Sunday since these palms could not be obtained from nearby areas. The men were not paid for the work, which was considered very difficult. The *caciques* received the best palms so that they might march in the procession.

The president also named commissions to collect flowers and adorn the temple. On Holy Thursday the president appointed men to play the role of the Jews. These men had to provide themselves with special suits and a long cape and mask. They had to rise at 2:00 A.M. to collect the images for the procession. This role had been very unpopular during the colonial period, not only for what it symbolized but because the villagers shouted insults and even spat at them. However, later the symbolism was forgotten, and the "Jews" were invited into the homes of those who had the images to be collected and were given *champurrado* and *semita* to eat.

Despite the Constitution of 1857 which specifically imposed separation of state and church, there was much fusion of the two at the time of Díaz. In Tepoztlán the president and councilmen attended Mass and the *rosario* in a body on January first, and after receiving the blessings of God held the first session of the year. On Ash Wednesday again all the local officials, the judges, and their employees re-

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554 571 576 195 person in a respect status has certain powers, authority, and privileges and at the same time may not be insulted, criticized, or attacked. Respect status may stem from superior social and economic position, advanced age, education, or political power. Respect status may also stem from a specific, formal respect-relationship established between two individuals, such as that between parents and children, in-laws, and *compadres*. All inter-personal relations fall into three respect categories, that of reciprocal respect in which both parties address each other in *Vd.*, that of superior-subordinate respect-relations in which one party is addressed in *Vd.* and the other in the familiar *tú*, and the intimate relation in which both parties address each other in *tú*.

The *Vd.-Vd.* relation of mutual respect is perhaps the safest and therefore the ideal relationship in Tepoztlán. It implies recognition of equality of status, and each party is guaranteed respectful behavior and the fulfillment of certain formal obligations by the other. It involves no further intimacy or personal compromise and emphasizes mutual reserve and constraint, which well suits the Tepoztecan temperament. This relationship is however the least frequent in Tepoztlán, being [608] limited to *compadres, consuegros* (the respective parents of married couples), and [593] adults who are strangers to one another. Very rarely, a husband and wife may maintain an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship indicating the highest degree of mutual respect.

Some of the more ambitious younger people in the village now seek to establish [555] [178] an *Vd.-Vd.* relationship between themselves and older people on the basis of superior education or professional standing. Thus, a young man or woman who is a teacher desires to be addressed respectfully rather than familiarly by the parents of his pupils, partly to maintain authority and partly to obtain recognition of personal achievement. In this sense there is a present trend to extend the number of *Vd.-Vd.* relationships and to approach more nearly the situation which occurs in the cities.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship establishes a clear-cut status differentiation in terms of superordinate-subordinate. For the person in the dominant position, this is the most satisfying and preferred relationship. With the exception of the possibility of insubordination or hostility on the part of the submissive individual, this respect [561] status is a very secure one. Age and relative social position are the essential determinants in the use of *Vd.-tú*. All children are addressed in *tú*, and all persons use *Vd.* when speaking to someone older than themselves. Thus, one is in an *Vd.-tú* [602] relationship with parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and sisters, cousins, and all older non-relatives.

The respect of children for parents and older relatives is traditionally expressed [593] by kissing their hands in greeting and each evening when the church bell rings. [178] This practice is dying out and only rarely occurs in the presence of a stranger. In many families there is also resistance to addressing older brothers and sisters in *Vd.* and to giving them the respect and obedience that should accompany it. The number of cases in which children address parents in the familiar form is rapidly increasing. In the recent past, when there was a greater age differential between

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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183 562 593 to admire a man who is manly, they describe the "good" husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering. But they are as critical as men are of wives who answer back or resist their husbands, even though they do it themselves. Also, while women unanimously prefer a submissive daughter-in-law for themselves, they do not always advise their own daughters to yield to mothers-in-law. There is also a definite tendency to regard the completely submissive wife more as a fool than as an ideal. The fact that there is no feeling of inadequacy among women for not achieving the ideal of feminine behavior, and the fact that they feel pride rather than guilt in self-assertion, indicates that they no longer hold the cultural ideal as their own.

Women are, then, more in conflict with traditional ways than are men. Husbands generally find themselves in a defensive position in which they must conserve the old order of things in the home, to maintain their control over the family. Men show symptoms of anxiety and feelings of inadequacy because of their inability to fulfill their roles to their own satisfaction. Wives tend to reject certain aspects of their role, particularly those which interfere with their freedom of movement and economic activities. The strong preference women display toward work which takes them outside the home, and their feeling of deprivation when they cannot leave the home, are evidence of this. Perhaps related to this is the fact that pregnancy and bearing of children are viewed without enthusiasm by women. These attitudes of women are in sharp contrast to those of men. The reaction of women to the pressure to conform, is one of a sense of frustration and deprivation. The martyr-complex is widespread among married women, and in telling their life stories, women are often so overwhelmed by self-pity that they break down and cry. They dwell on the sadness of their lives and the faults of their husbands. It is, they say, a woman's unhappy lot to suffer at the hands of men. The hostility toward men is quite general, and women readily characterize all men as "very bad."

[842] [157] [578]

183 594 [178] The question of authority in husband-wife relations is very much in the minds of men and women in Tepoztlán. There is an awareness, on the part of both, of the growing assertiveness of wives and the continual struggle of husbands to keep them under control. The changes within the village in the past twenty years or so have made this struggle more acute and have brought it into the open. There is a saying among men, "When the man relaxes, the woman takes over." Similarly, women say, "When we give in, the men impose." Even the most conventional women believe that there is a time to yield and a time to resist.

Basic to the conflict in the relations of husbands and wives is the discrepancy between the actual roles and the ideal roles in the organization of the family. Although the wife is subordinate to the husband, it is she who has the greatest responsibility for the planning, organizing, and operation of the household, and for the training and care of the children. The husband traditionally turns over all his earnings to his wife, and she holds the funds and controls much of the spending. In most homes, the husband will not interfere with the wife's handling of the money, so long as she gives him money when he wants it. The good wife is not

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More and more women are undertaking to contribute to the support of their families, even when the husband is a relatively good provider. Women traditionally raise a few chickens and pigs, and some now grow fruit trees, to earn money. Men recognize this type of activity as necessary. Some poor men blame their inability to get ahead on the fact that their wives are inept at earning or saving money, or that their wives refuse to raise chickens and pigs because they dirty up the patio and are too much trouble. One attitude, sometimes expressed among married women, is, "Why should I work? That is what I have a husband and sons for." However, many wives try to earn enough so as not to depend upon their husbands entirely for food and clothing, because "the men are too miserly to spend much on these things." The more capable women are able to earn enough to aid their husbands substantially. Without exception, every man who has been able to improve his economic situation since the Revolution has done so with the help of his wife, and in all the more prosperous homes the wives are known to be unusually capable and industrious.

Several fairly recent social and economic changes which have occurred in the village have affected the roles of women. Women have been more affected than men by such technological changes as the building of the road, the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, and the introduction of the corn mills. These changes have also affected the relations between husbands and wives. Women began to patronize the corn mills over the objections of their husbands, and the success of the mills was described by a male informant as the result of "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men." The corn mills have given women from four to six additional hours a day to devote to other activities. Since women are not so tied to the *metate* now, they are able to leave the house more freely and can undertake more extensive business activities.

An increasing number of more ambitious married women are now raising animals or growing fruit on a larger scale or are devoting more time to selling the family produce at the Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca markets. However, husbands tend to balk at the latter activity and do not easily give their wives permission to go to Cuernavaca, despite the fact that the extra earnings would be welcome. This type of work has, in the past, been carried on exclusively by widows or older unmarried women who "had no man to control them." Many of these women are known for their promiscuity, and they and their occupation have little status. In addition, men tend to associate going to Cuernavaca with going to meet a lover and do not permit their wives to go alone. Husbands also fear that people will say they can no longer support or control their wives if they go out to work. The fear of giving the wife more freedom, as well as the recognition of the threat to the man in his role as provider, outweighs the obvious economic advantages, and most men prevent their wives from earning as much as they might.

Another factor which has affected husband-wife relations is the increased independence of young couples, who now seek to set up separate households soon after marriage. In the past, when wives often lived for many years with their mothers-in

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178 594 [591] law and were subject to their authority, the husband had relatively little difficulty in controlling his wife. But the young wife now assumes earlier the full burden of running the household and requires a certain freedom and authority which has not been traditionally hers. Men, however, are still unprepared to permit their wives the freedom to carry out these new responsibilities and interpret many of their demands and activities as threats to the husband's authority.

562 593 754 The quality of husband-wife relations is perhaps most clearly revealed by the latent fear that husbands have of being bewitched or poisoned by their wives. Tepoztecan men believe that wives who have suffered beatings and harsh treatment may take revenge by resorting to sorcery. The most commonly feared sorcery is a potion made from an herb called *toloache*, which may be secretly put into a man's coffee or other drink.[1] This herb is supposed to make a man *tonto*, stupid or foolish and easily led. An overdose of *toloache* will make a man an idiot. The most important symptom to Tepoztecans is that the drugged man can no longer control his wife and becomes dominated by her. When a woman is known to dominate her husband and to have many lovers, she is suspected of having given her husband *toloache*. According to Tepoztecans, the man is unaware of his condition and can do nothing about it. His mother or some other close relative may attempt to cure him secretly by putting a counter-potion into his coffee. It is interesting to note that there is not a single case of *toloache* being given by men to women.

There is a readiness to explain all mildness and passivity in men, in relation to their wives, as a result of the man's having been drugged by *toloache* or bewitched by other means. For example, a man in the village continued to give his wife a regular sum of money, although she had left him and they had no children. His unprecedented solicitude was believed to have been the result of magic applied by the wife. There are about fifty recognized cases of *toloache* poisoning or bewitching in the village. The following cases were described by one of our male informants:

MAXIMO C.: He was a bachelor until age forty, at which time he married a widow, age fifty. Before his marriage he was a strong man, but after a while he became weak, thin, humble, and always kept his head down. That is why we believe she gave him something. She is the mother, the queen. She is all and he is her servant. She had had many men and had always lived with bachelors. She lured him and married him. Her first husband was a fool. He was a *capitán* for the hacienda and was away a lot. He came here every eight days and often found another man in the house/ He permitted this. She had many men, and they all died. She gave some potion to all of these men to make them live with her. She died last year.

ANTONIO F.: He eloped with his first wife. He beat her often because she ran around. After twenty years of marriage, she gave him the stuff and he began to show the symptoms.

RICARDO V.: He was the boss in his home for about five years. Then she began to sleep with just anybody, and he began to show all the symptoms.

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[1] *Toloache* is a well-known plant in Mexico and is said to contain a drug which, when given in large doses, will affect the brain.

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According to our older informants some brides did not submit to their husbands and had to be forced to do so. In one case a thirteen-year-old girl fought off her husband for six nights. Several times she ran out of the house to evade him. He finally became embarrassed and tied her hands behind her and forced himself upon her. Another girl left her husband permanently, because he forced her to submit to him for the first time in a field. But these stories apply more to the older generation. The young people in Tepoztlán today have many more opportunities for premarital contacts with the opposite sex and are generally familiar with the details of sexual relations by the time they marry.

Tepoztecan men are, for the most part, suspicious and distrustful of their wives and believe that they are capable of being unfaithful to them at the first opportunity. Men are unanimous in the belief that women must be kept under strict surveillance and control. The adulterous activities of men reinforce this attitude toward women. "I see how easily other women fool their husbands, my wife can, too." To insure his wife's loyalty the husband seeks to isolate her from outsiders.

When the couple lives with the husband's family for several years, it is relatively easy to guard the wife; but when there is early separation from the parental home, the husband is deprived of an important source of security. It is common for husbands in this position to ask the cooperation of relatives, neighbors, and friends in watching over his wife when she is left alone. As a result of these spies, some husbands know, in any given day, exactly when their wives went out and returned, with whom they spoke, and for how long.

Wives are generally forbidden to have female friends and most women discontinue all friendships at the time of marriage. Husbands view such friends as potential arrangers or go-betweens for the wife and a lover. Men frequently drop their own friends after marriage or do not encourage them to visit for fear that some intimacy might develop between the wife and the friend. The majority of husbands are suspicious of any activities which take the wife away from home. During the first few years of marriage, most wives are not permitted to leave the house unaccompanied. In cases where young couples live alone, the wife will prefer to ask a neighbor or a relative to make purchases for her, rather than risk her husband's anger or the gossip of others by going to the market alone. Although some young wives now go out alone, they are considered suspect by others.

When a woman leaves the house she is expected to return in the shortest possible time; any delay on her part may earn her a sound scolding or beating. Gossiping with other women is discouraged and sometimes punished. Most husbands do not approve of their wives going to wash clothing at the public washing place for fear they will gossip and learn "bad things" from other women. However, the burden some task of hauling water to do the washing at home serves to keep most husbands from banning the public washing place.

The suspiciousness and jealousy of some husbands is extreme. There are cases of wife-beating merely because the husband saw a man standing at the street corner near the house and suspected him of being his wife's lover. If a wife's work is not

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of money. But only the most aggressive wives try to break their husbands of the habit. 273

Drinking is an important emotional outlet for men. It is believed that drinking helps one to get over *muina*, and it is traditional for men to go out to drink after a quarrel at home. Sometimes the men come home drunk and aggressive; other times "because they lack judgment" they arrive full of affection and kiss and caress the members of the family. It is interesting that only under intoxication will husbands and fathers openly demonstrate their affection in this way. Repressed hostilities toward wife, mother, child, or others also frequently come out when a man has been drinking. Some husbands beat their wives only when drunk. Drinking to get courage to punish a wife, seduce a woman, or attack an enemy is also common. Men often give a particular shout or cry *"grita"* after drinking, to show that they feel brave. 593 [154] [152] [154]

Although women in Tepoztlán are not supposed to drink, a few women are known to drink regularly and have been seen in a drunken state. Drunken women often cry for hours at a time and are inconsolable. In contrast to men, they do not respond to intoxication with aggression or impulsiveness but with self-pity. Widows or abandoned wives, more than other women, tend to drink for comfort. A few modern young girls get together occasionally for drinking and smoking in secret, but they discontinue this after marriage. 273 [154] 589 [276]

## *PARENTS AND CHILDREN*

The relations between parents and children in Tepoztlán are also conditioned by emphasis on respect and authority. Children are reared to respect and obey their elders and to submit to the will of their mother and father so long as they live under the parental roof. Not long ago, all children in Tepoztlán kissed the hands of their parents, grandparents, and godparents in greeting; now only a few families continue this custom, and children are embarrassed to do it in the presence of outsiders. In the smaller outlying villages in the municipio, hand-kissing is still a common practice. 593 [576] [178]

From infancy on, children in Tepoztlán are encouraged to be quiet, passive, and unobtrusive; older children are required to be obedient, self-controlled, and helpful. There is great emphasis placed upon "good" behavior in children, and the possibility of a child "not turning out well" is one of the fears of Tepoztecan parents. It is feared that a child who is badly raised will not be a good worker and will get into trouble. Such a child reflects ill upon his parents and is a cause for shame. 593 858

The responsibility of child rearing is felt as a heavy burden, particularly by mothers. Upon the death of a small child, it is not uncommon for the mother to comfort herself with the statement, "It is better thus, for who knows if he would have turned out well."

While both parents are held responsible by society at large for the care and conduct of their children, within the home the major burden falls upon the mother. It is the mother who feeds, bathes, and clothes the children and cares for them 593 855

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593 861 [858] any manifestation of independence is taken to be disrespectful of the parent; for others, only disobedience to a direct command and a show of aggression toward the parents are cause for punishment. Also, the varying requirements for the assistance of children in the home, favoritism, and the different status of boys and girls and older and younger children make for variation in parental treatment.

Fear is the principal technique by which parents control their children. Fear of punishment is widespread, and parents who have successfully instilled this fear in their children are considered good parents. It is believed that too much kindness or softness spoils children and that they may grow up without knowing respect and fear.

593 861 178 There is a tradition of severe punishment in Tepoztlán. In the past, children were more repressed and were sometimes brutally punished for slight offenses. Tepoztecans recall such punishments as hanging a child in a net over a smoky fire of chile seeds to asphyxiate him partially and to make him ill for days.[5] Similarly if a child broke a dish, he might be punished by scraping his arms with a piece of the broken dish until he bled. It may be that these old practices had some magical aspects and were not done in a spirit of cruelty, but it is significant that they are interpreted as cruel today.

About forty years ago, children were painfully whipped at school and at home with *la disciplina*, a rope which had five, fingerlike extensions. This is no longer used. Not so long ago if a teacher or a neighbor accused a child of some misbehavior, the child was often beaten by his father in the presence of the accuser. Now, it is said, parents more often tend to find fault with the accuser than with the child. In the past, almost any adult could punish a child, but non-relatives no longer do this for fear of starting a family quarrel. Tepoztecans generally agree that punishment has become more lenient, and that there is more toleration of childish faults and whims, particularly among younger or more educated parents.

593 861 Our data show wide variations in the form of punishment and in the degree of severity. It is clear that children between the ages of five and twelve are frequently punished, but for children over twelve, physical punishment is reserved for the most serious offenses. The father generally inflicts the most severe punishments, but the mother punishes more often. In most families the father is more feared and more promptly obeyed, even though he may have punished his children only once or twice. Usually a rise in his voice will get quick response from his child. Mothers tend to punish their daughters more than their sons, but fathers punish their sons more than their daughters. Girls generally receive more punishment than boys and are made tractable at an earlier age.

Punishment usually does not begin until the child starts to walk, and it is limited to a slap on the hands or buttocks. Some mothers slap the hands of a nine-month-old baby if he touches a forbidden object, and others may spank a baby hard if he cries too much. However, punishment during infancy is not common. When toilet

[5] This practice is reminiscent of the Aztec form of punishing rebellious subjects by placing them in a room filled with fumes of burning chile seeds.

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mothers when they first menstruate, nor do they seek information concerning pregnancy, birth, or marriage. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she will consult a friend or *curandero* as to what to do. Even after marriage, the girl informs her mother-in-law rather than her mother of her pregnancy, and the mother takes an active role as adviser or assistant only if there is no mother-in-law to do so.

Mother-daughter relations are almost severed when the girl marries, particularly if the girl lives with her mother-in-law for several years. It is common for mothers to weep at a daughter's marriage because they are "losing her," and they miss her for a long time.

When a married daughter leaves her mother-in-law's home to live alone, close relations with her mother are generally resumed. Women do not expect financial assistance in their old age from their married daughters because it is "up to the son-in-law." But many married daughters help their mothers with money and corn without the knowledge of their husbands.

### *SIBLINGS*

If the mother-child relationship is the strongest bond in Tepoztlán, that between siblings ranks next. Sibling solidarity is an ideal which parents try to instill in their children. "Take care of him, he is your brother" is often repeated. Nevertheless, sibling relations are often poor, especially in adulthood, and Tepoztecans themselves recognize the sharp gap between theory and practice. The ties between siblings are closest in childhood. Up to about age five or six, siblings are constant companions, and their relationship is but little affected by the differences in sex. Later, sex status becomes much more important, as the sister begins to identify with the mother and her work, and the brother with the father.

An older sister has a special role in caring for her younger siblings and often shows affection and devotion in bringing up the children. But some of the older daughters are rejecting this role in favor of continuing their education. Older brothers have a preferred status in the family and can demand respect and obedience from younger brothers and sisters. In the absence of the parents they take on the role of the father and may discipline their younger siblings. Even after marriage, younger siblings are expected to consult with the older brother about important decisions. But this pattern is rapidly disappearing.

The authority of older siblings over younger is tempered somewhat by the parents' insistence that the older sibling protect and even defer to the younger child. If a young child wants something belonging to an older brother or sister, the parents see to it that he receives it. If an older child is sitting in a chair wanted by a three-year-old, the older child is told to get up and give it to him. In one family a ten-year-old boy, who complained to his parents that his six-year-old brother woke up at night to steal his marbles, was told not to be selfish and to let the younger one have them. When two children quarrel, the older one is automatically blamed because "he is older and should know better," or both children are punished without the parents inquiring into the situation. It is significant that older children never

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be cause for a sharp scolding or slap. Ideally, the girl is not supposed to leave the house unaccompanied, though expediency frequently demands that she does.

The responsibility of guarding the chastity and reputation of one or more daughters of marriageable age is often felt to be a burden by the mother. One mother said that she wished her fifteen-year-old daughter would marry soon because it was inconvenient to "spy" on her all the time.

For most girls, the appearance of the first menses is a traumatic experience. Many fear it signifies that they are no longer virgins, others that they have an internal lesion and will bleed to death. Most girls associate it with something shameful, dirty, and even punishable, and keep it secret from parents and sisters. A very much frightened girl sometimes seeks reassurance by confiding in her grandmother or in a friend. Girls who are still in school at an age when there is interest in such matters generally learn some of the facts of menstruation from other girls. There is a tendency for more educated girls to feel less guilt and be less secretive about menstruation both in school and at home, but almost all girls express shame and disgust in connection with it.

When girls married before puberty, it was widely believed that menstruation was caused by sexual intercourse. When marriages began to take place after puberty, this belief broke down and is no longer held by most people, but it still persists among some. For example, an uncle, who accidentally became aware that his fifteen year-old niece was menstruating, denounced the girl as not being a virgin and scolded her mother for not guarding her.

The grandmother, or the mother when she learns of it, gives the girl advice on proper care during menstruation. Most warn against bathing or washing the feet or eating "cold" foods, such as pork, avocado, beans, and lemon, since these are believed to stop the flow. Menstruation is expected to last three days, and the flow is generally sparse, requiring only the wearing of an extra pair of underdrawers. If the flow is longer than three or four days, there is some concern over it, and herb medicines are usually taken.

The adjustment of the adolescent girl to her situation at home varies considerably. In large part it depends upon the girl's relations with the mother, since it is with her that there is most contact. The close relationship of the adolescent girl with her mother is recent in Tepoztlán, for child marriage and patrilocal residence in past years effectively severed the mother-daughter tie. The young daughter-in-law was looked upon as the main source of assistance for the mother. Now it is the grown daughter who partially fills this role. Her work is obligatory, "Why then do we rear children except to help us?" The mother of a grown girl is considered fortunate because "now she has someone to work for her."

Many of the attitudes of the mother-in-law toward the daughter-in-law have been carried over to the daughter. There is a tendency for mothers to "retire" from most of the heavy household duties and to shift the major burden of the household upon the daughters, assuming the role of director rather than partner. Many mothers are critical, demanding, and querulous with their daughters and scold

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## *COURTSHIP*

Courtship before marriage is relatively new in Tepoztlán. Before the Revolution most marriages were arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children. Girls married at a very early age, leaving little opportunity for courtship. From the life stories of informants now in their fifties, we learn that in some cases young people did not know each other before marriage and met for the first time at the wedding ceremony in the church. Parents frequently had to threaten their young daughters with physical punishment to get them to consent to the marriage. The following excerpt from the life story of a woman, now a widow of sixty is quite typical:

I was eleven years old when a boy came from Gabriel Mariaca to ask for my hand. He came with his parents and a jar of silver money. But my grandmother became angry and told them I was still a child, and she didn't want to see me going about carrying babies yet. When I was twelve my mother took me home again. Then a boy of sixteen came to ask for me, and my mother said yes. She told me that she wanted me to marry before something bad happened to me. I did not want to marry, especially because I did not know who the boy was. My mother said that if I did not say yes to the priest in the church she would throw me down from the top of the church. I was afraid and did what my mother told me.

Often young people knew each other, at least by sight, but contacts were few, brief, and secretive. Being *novios* at that time meant only that the parents had made arrangements for the marriage, and the date had been set. *Novios* were not permitted to be alone together at any time before marriage. In a few better-to-do and literate families, *novios* would court secretly by exchanging love letters.

Today courtship before marriage is common. Parents lament the changing of the old ways and are concerned over the fact that boys and girls have many opportunities to become acquainted with one another, particularly at school. Indeed, it is unusual for a girl over thirteen or a boy over fifteen not to have a *novio*. The local priest has recognized this and has stated in doctrinal classes that having a *novio* is not a sin, and the girls need no longer mention it at confession. But, he added, it is a sin to be *novios* for more than six months before marriage. It is common for girls to have an initial sense of guilt in accepting their first *novio*, but this is only a fleeting reaction, and girls are much more conscious of fear than guilt.

There is much secrecy surrounding courtship. A girl who is found to have a *novio* is severely punished by her parents. She may be beaten, denied food, not given new clothing, and not permitted to leave the house alone for a long time thereafter. There is a great readiness among the older generation, particularly among relatives, to inform a girl's parents if they see her talking or walking with a boy, and *novios* take extra precautions not to be seen by them.

Courtship is usually initiated by the boy. Fear of refusal is very strong, and he plans his conquest carefully and proceeds slowly. The timidity of boys in approaching a girl for the first time is the subject of much joking among girls. Drinking to

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bring legal charges against the boy and try to get the girl home. If they are adamant and threatening, the boy may, in revenge, refuse to marry the girl and send her home where she will be severely beaten.

*Raptos* have existed as far back as informants can remember, but there is evidence that the number have increased considerably since the Revolution. During 1942 and 1943, approximately fifty per cent of all marriages began as elopements. This is symptomatic of the breakdown of parental authority and the increasing independence of young people. In the majority of cases after elopement, the respective *padrinos* of the boy and girl will intercede and bring pressure upon the couple to marry. Most elopements end in marriage. Of the thirty elopements in the village during 1942 and 1943 all but three ended in marriage. In these three cases the girls were orphans, with no one to intercede in their behalf.

#### IN THE CHURCH

To be well married in Tepoztlán is to be married in church. Because civil marriage is now compulsory by law, most couples marry by both laws. Approximately 75 per cent of 133 marriages in the village between 1941 and 1946 were by both laws.

On the day the couple obtain their civil marriage certificate,[4] they appear before the priest with two character witnesses for the *presentación*. The priest writes down the name, age, and civil status of the boy and the girl and then begins to question each of the character witnesses. He asks the boy's witness if the boy has other *novias*, or other commitments, or whether he has children with another woman. Then the girl's witnesses are asked similar questions. The priest then turns to the boy and girl and asks each in turn whether they want to marry of their own free will, or whether they are being forced to marry. On the following three Sundays the priest reads the marriage banns in the church and if there are no protests, the couple are married on the fourth Sunday. Because of the Tepoztecan sense of shame and reticence to publicize private affairs, protests during the time of the reading of the banns are rare, even when some jilted lover or an unwed mother may have good cause.

On the evening before the wedding, the boy's parents traditionally send a basket of bread, chocolate, some bottles of wine, and a turkey prepared with the necessary condiments to the home of the girl. They also send along the wedding dress, with its accessories, shoes, stockings, and flowers. That evening the girl is taken to the home of the godparents of marriage, where she spends the night. The godparents give her marital advice at this time, and again the emphasis is upon her need to obey and conform to all of her husband's wishes.

In the early morning the godmother helps the girl wash and dress. Church weddings require the bride to be dressed in a white dress, shoes, and stockings. A dress with a train, *la cola*, and a veil is desirable. (See Fig. 62.) Widows who

[4] For a discussion of civil marriage, see Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 73.

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# 19 *old age and death:*

In Tepoztlán a person is thought to be old when he can no longer do his customary work because of physical weakness or when he is obviously gray, wrinkled, and bent with age.[1] This is equally true of women. The menopause is not taken as a sign of old age; women generally welcome it because they will no longer be able to bear children. There is no custom of retiring to a life of rest and leisure; everyone works as long as he is able. (See Fig. 63.) The habit of useful activity keeps old people from becoming a burden to their children or a "social problem." Children are expected to care for old parents and the majority do, but many old people prefer to live alone, even at a miserable subsistence level.[2]

Old age as such is not feared, but dependence upon others and inability to work are generally very much feared. (See Fig. 64.) A "useless" old age is considered a sad thing, and many would prefer death. Chronic or lingering illness is not a serious problem because old people continue to work until their illness becomes acute, and death quickly follows. There are relatively few individuals who are bedridden or severely disabled because of their advanced years.

Old age is traditionally the time when a Tepoztecan receives greatest respect and consideration. Men over fifty are not required to do guard duty, and old people are permitted greater freedom of speech and behavior. They may get drunk, insult others, use sexual terms, laugh and cry, and even urinate in public without censure, although younger people may find it embarrassing. On the whole, however, old people are as restrained in behavior as other adults.

It appears to be the consensus that less and less respect for old people is being shown. It is pointed out that many children now address their grandparents in the familiar *tú* and that some of the old customs of greeting elders, such as the kissing of the hand, have fallen into disuse. In addition to the disappearance of outward signs of respect, there are more sources of conflict between the older and younger

[1] Approximately fifteen per cent of the population of Tepoztlán is over age fifty. Tepoztlán has a higher proportion of old people than does rural Mexico as a whole. At the time of this study, the oldest person in the village was ninety-nine.

[2] Of the forty-five individuals who live alone, the majority are over sixty years of age.

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Fig. 63. Widows carrying firewood.

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generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned has somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days," however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature.

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boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tusik and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.[18]

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that informants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.[19]

[18] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary [Indiana, U.S.A.], Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 211–12.

[19] Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, " . . . it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. They

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114 121 181 individual rights in land may date back prior to the Spanish Conquest. Cortés and his heirs owned land in Tepoztlán and rented it out to Tepoztecans as early as 1580. In the past twenty or thirty years there have been no changes in the direction of the private ownership of the communal resources. The persistence of the communal resources, which still accounts for over eighty per cent of all the area of the municipio, is impressive.

[476] [621] [178] The trend toward the breakdown of collective labor is seen clearly in Tepoztlán, particularly in connection with the difficulty in getting barrio members to turn out for the plowing and planting of the barrio fields. In 1947, three of the barrios had rented out the land and used the rental for the barrio. On the whole, many of our findings for Tepoztlán might be interpreted as confirming Redfield's more general findings for Yucatán, particularly in regard to the trend toward secularization and individualization, perhaps less so in regard to disorganization.

## *CULTURE CHANGE IN TEPOZTLÁN*

177 Let us now depart from Redfield's formulation and analyze the changes in Tepoztlán in terms of concrete historical occurrences and their patterns. For this purpose, the history of culture change in Tepoztlán may be divided into three major periods, each with its distinctive characteristics. These periods are (1) from the Spanish Conquest to about 1910; (2) from 1910 to about 1930; (3) from 1930 to the present. The great differences in the lengths of each of these periods correspond, to some extent, to the different rates of change characteristic of each. Furthermore, each period is characterized by changes of a different order.

During the first period, change was on the whole gradual but far-reaching, touching all aspects of life from material culture and technology to social organization, economics, and religion. The changes during this period were the result of outside influence and consisted of the transformation of the culture by the super-imposition of Spanish culture, consisting of both urban and rural elements, on the native culture, with a resultant fusion of the two. During the second period, the changes were caused by a combination of external and internal factors, and changes were more rapid and violent, affecting primarily the social and political organization. The third period was in a sense a continuation of the second, with the changes primarily in the fields of communication, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with economics, social organization, and religion remaining quite stable. On the whole, but particularly in the field of material culture, the new culture elements in all periods did not supplant but were added to the old, making for a richer and more heterogeneous culture.

### FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1910

This period can be divided into two sub-periods: one, from the Conquest to 1810, the colonial period; and two, from 1810 to 1910, the end of the Díaz regime.

The effects of the Spanish Conquest and of Spanish influence during the colonial period were extremely complicated and included both destructive and constructive